/7 cont./ 841
in the Marquesas several decades ago. Therefore, it is 842
doubtful whether this is an aboriginal concept. [799]

During pregnancy, woman's work continues as usual, with 843
relatively little relief until advanced stages have been reached.
In the Marquesas, /8/ many heavy household chores fall to [462]
the women, such as hauling firewood, sacks of breadfruits,
lifting and weighing copra, etc. With tasks of this nature,
it is not infrequent that spontaneous abortions (tama topa,
hanaua) occur. Should these occur early in pregnancy, it is
doubtful whether they would be recognized as such. During
a five-month residence in the valley of Hatiheu, my wife
was called upon to treat two young women who were con-
tinually manifesting symptoms of premature labor as a result
of their stubborn refusal to restrict their economic activites.
The main cause of their continued episodes (which finally
resulted in the loss of one of the fetuses) was lifting of heavy
burdens.

In producing spontaneous abortions, the taxing nature of [492]
the tasks which are viewed as "woman's work" is aided by
the major mode of transportation in the Marquesas -- horseback
riding. In one instance we were awakened at midnight to
treat a girl who had begun to have labor pains and a bloody
discharge in her home valley some 5 miles distant, and
had immediately mounted a horse and galloped to our door,
without any thought that the gallop might be injurious.

Native remedies are available for stopping spontaneous [757]
abortions, but their efficacy is doubtful. It is interesting to
note that the frequency of spontaneous abortions must have [776]
been marked in aboriginal times, as there was a proliferation
of gods and goddesses who had charge over abortions.

/9/ Abortions (ha'a topa ite tama) are seldom induced, 847
as children are highly valued, a point which will be discussed [858]
at greater length below. No Marquesan female informants
admitted to inducing abortions, and no specific cases were
ever heard of from males. Abortifacients were commonly

/31 cont./ clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the development of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usually while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the lois of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30.

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially accomplished before the first intercourse as a result of the strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may feel.